

76
REFLECTIONS

ON

VARIOUS SUBJECTS

RELATING TO

ARTS and COMMERCE:

PARTICULARLY,

The Consequences of admitting FOREIGN
ARTISTS on easier Terms.

Sunt quædam mediocria, sunt mala plura.

L O N D O N:

Printed for GEORGE WOODFALL, at the
King's-Arms, Charing-Cross; and C. COR-
BETT in *Fleet-street*. 1752.

18

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46

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Artists on their Terms.

Printed by George Woodfall, at the
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ERRATA:

PAge 25. line 6. *for the old, read in the old*

30.	12.	Faculties	Faculty
34.	14.	Statesman:	Commercial Statesman:
37.	18.	the Dexterity	a Dexterity

REFLECTIONS, &c.

Of some MANUFACTURES, wherein
FOREIGNERS would be useful.

NEW Trades are not often invented, especially such as are of Consequence, by employing Numbers of People; these have been long known in the World, and delivered down from Age to Age, and from one People to another; as Arts and Commerce have shifted their Residence. All our manufacturing Arts were brought hither by *Foreigners*; the *Woollen* and *Silk* at the two great Periods of the *Dutch Revolution*, and the Repeal of the famous *French Edict*. The *Silk*, established so successfully in many Places, began almost in the Memory of Man at *London* and *Canterbury*; on a Review of the working Hands a very few Years after its Commencement, the Throwsters and Winders were found to have increased in ten Years, from three Hundred to fourteen Thousand

in *London* alone*: And the Number employed throughout the Nation about 1712 was thought to exceed three Hundred Thousand †. Our own Consumption in this Commodity, once drew out of the Kingdom annually a Million two hundred thousand Pounds, and yet in the Space of Half a Century, we were able to supply our home Markets and the Colonies, and to export considerable Quantities to other Parts. The Manufacture of *Silk Stockings*, introduced into *England* by some *Italians*, proceeded with such Celerity to Perfection, that we imported this Commodity from *Leghorn*, and exported thither those of our own Fabrick, in one and the same Year, as we are told by an Author of good Credit ‡.

I shall enumerate some Arts, in which we are at present deficient, and may in the same Manner receive Instructions from *foreign* Artists, whenever we shall think fit to remove the real or seeming Obstacles to their settling amongst us. The *higher Manufactures* have been long observed to flourish and succeed best in *large* and *rich* Towns, either because there is a greater Consumption of them in the Place itself, and the Manufacturer finds a ready Vent for them, or because Art and Invention, making the chief Part of their Price, are cheaper, like other Things,

* Mr. *Mun*, Edit. 1700. † *British Merchant*.

‡ An Essay on Trade, by Sir *F. Brewster*, 135.

Things, where they are plentiful, (the high Living of Towns being perhaps more proper for curious Workmen than common Food) or lastly, because such Manufactures make Towns large and rich, which they found small and poor. However it be, a Village is never the Seat of Arts. *Leyden, Brussels, Genoa, Naples, Lyons, and Paris*, either owe their Greatness to a Variety of curious Fabricks, or these their Perfection to such Places of Residence. The following Manufactures are particularly fitted for a *Capital*, and would add not a little to the Increase and Ornament of *London*.

That of *Tapestry* so often talked of, can succeed no where but in *London*, from the Plenty of *Turkey Wool*, *Dying Drugs* and good *Dyers* near at hand; for which Reason, this is also the proper Place for the Art of Carpet-weaving. Next to able *Draughtsmen* and *Designers*, the Art of *Dying* is the *Basis* of *Tapestry*. A small Number are sufficient, if Masters in the Art. This it is, which, like *Diction* in Poetry, must give the last Value to our Works. Perhaps some Improvements might be drawn from *Lyons, Brussels, or Naples*, the Places most famous in this Art, if we gave due Encouragement to their Workmen.

A Manufacture of the finest Kind of *Table-Linen*, like that which comes from the *Groyne*, and from several Parts of *Catholic Flanders*

Flanders, deserves Encouragement, being a Commodity of general *Consumption*, and requiring numberless Hands in the *Materials* and *Working*.

Fine Linen is one of the few foreign Articles we stand in Need of; *Ireland* may soon supply our Markets with the common Sorts of it, but we have Reason to expect the very *finest* Branches to arrive sooner at Perfection here, even though we should at first import *Cambrick* Yarn from *France* for the Manufacture.

We have little of the best Sorts of *Wove* or *Needle-Work* Laces, or of *Dresden* Work; and notwithstanding our boasted Variety of Arts, no Part of the World affords so few Employments for Women as *England**. Instead of adding to those we have, the other Sex is daily retrenching them by taking upon themselves *female* Business. This is the more to be regretted, as we have no Place of *Retirement*, where Women of small Fortunes, whose Lot or Choice is a single Life, may pass their Days with Safety, Credit and Decency, according to their Education. These last mentioned Articles seem of next Importance to the *Woollen*, if what Mr. Gee has told us be fact, that our *Imports* of *fine Linen*, *Flanders* Lace, and *Cambricks*, not many Years ago exceeded all our *Exports* of *Woollen Goods*.

The

* See an Essay on Trade, by the Revd. Mr. Tucker, p. 131.

The Manufacture of *Porcelaine* improve, but slowly, either for Want of Skill, Stocks or Spirit, in the Undertakers; this is a Commodity of great Demand, draws large Sums yearly out of the Kingdom, and is paid for wholly in *ready Money*. We want none of the *Materials*; and yet *Bruges*, *Dresden* and *Paris*, without any natural Advantages superior to *England*, have far outstripped us, though the Art has been long in many Hands here. From the last mentioned Places we must invite our Workmen, if we expect ever to see this fine Manufacture at any Height amongst us; for this is the shortest Method of gaining a new Art in all Cases. As foreign *China* is an *Import* which affects none of our native Commodities, either in their Fabrick or Vent, I can foresee no Inconvenience to the Public, from raising its Price by higher Duties, nearer to that at which our own can be afforded. If this was done, and a Bounty with some small Honours promised to the Artist, who produced the best Pieces, in six Months after proper Notice, I believe we should soon be able to supply our own Demands without applying to *Holland*, or the *Indies*. At present the *Manufacturers* are solely enabled to pursue the Art, through the public Spirit and Generosity of those who think no Price too great for *English Ingenuity**.

Many

* Whilst this was writing Mr. *Sprumont* of *Chelsea*, informed the Public, that, ' in the Opinion of some
* very

Many of our *Indian Imports* are said to employ more of our *own Hands*, and to add more to the Worth of our Estates, than if they were *native Commodities of England*; when *Pepper* is sold here at two Shillings a Pound, above seven Eighths of its Value is paid to ourselves. Perhaps few of our *Manufactures*, where the *Materials* are *imported*, do more. The Ships, in whatever Region they may be in, are Part of our *Country*, and the Sailors fed and cloathed with the *Produce of England*. This might be urged in Behalf of *foreign China*, if it was not notorious that a great Part of the *common Sorts* comes to us from a Country less distant than the *Indies*.

The raising of *Silk* we have been told, is practicable in *England*, with due Care and Industry; that *Madder* for dying *Scarlet*, sufficient for all our Uses might be had at home, as well as from *Holland*, with little Difficulty. *Saltpetre* is actually made at *Paris* in large Quantities, by a Company for that Purpose, at the *Arsenal* there. If ever these

‘ very good Judges, who had made Experiments on
 ‘ his Wares, he has carried the Art of *China-making*
 ‘ to an Height beyond any other *Artist* in *Europe*, and
 ‘ has now opened a Sale-shop for it in *Pallmall*,’ &c.
 If this be so, he deserves all possible Honour and Encouragement from his Country; and will, I hope, be thought worthy of the Notice of the *Patriot-Society* of *Anti-Gallicans*, as well as of all other Favourers of *English Arts*. This is a further Reason for the additional Duty here proposed on *foreign China*.

these should be thought to deserve the Notice of the *Public*, the Method of *Bounties* will be applied, though more slow and expensive, rather than by laying a *Duty* on the *imported* ones to burthen our *Manufactures* for the Sake of the *Materials*.

Canvass, *Buckram* and *Tiretains* imported from *Alsace* yearly in such *Quantities*, are *Commodities* no Way *Local*, but may be wrought, wherever *Artists* are to be had, and they are the *plainest* and *simplest* of *Manufactures*

French Paper for the *Rolling Press-Printers*, is grown a considerable Article in our *Imports*, as well as *Fan-paper*, *Cambrick-paper*, and all the Sorts of *Transparent-paper*, and the best Kinds of *Marbled-paper* for *Bookbinders*: These will every Day increase upon us, as there now seems rising a noble Spirit amongst the *Lovers of Arts*, to encourage that of the *Engravers*.

Of the MEANS of promoting REFINED ARTS.

MAnufactures of moderate Expence and quick Growth may safely be left to private Adventurers, and run the common Chance for Success; the *finer Arts* will never flourish but under *public Protection* and *noble Patronage* ;

Patronage; no Encouragements in the Hands of *private* Persons are adequate Rewards to the Man of *Genius*. Money is the Pay of common *Men*, as Praise is that of *Heroes*; and Honour will ever be found a much stronger Principle of fine Invention than Gain. We may apply to the *Artist* what *Quintilian* declares of his young *Orator* — *Nolo mibi Oratorem dari, quanti sint Studia, Computaturum*, — all that was Great and Noble in antient Wit and Art, was produced by Honours, by the Countenance of *Princes*, the Favour and kind Influence of *Great Men*. Sometimes indeed, the Strength of a warm *Devotion* has struck an Enthusiasm and Passion into the Works of Artists, beyond the Power of human Motives to inspire. A noble Profusion of *Honours* and *Bounty* raised the *Gobelines* to its present Height; the united Influence of these two being generally sufficient, to call forth whatever human Industry can attain to.

This House was the Residence of two Brothers who first brought to *Paris* the Secret of dying a curious *Scarlet*, and failed in Setting it on Foot. Their Buildings went under the popular Name of the *Folly* of the *Gobelines* for many Years, till the *Opprobrium* was taken off by a *Royal Edict*, and the Name changed by *public Authority* to the more honourable one of the *Royal Mansion of the Gobelines*. The *Scarlet* Colour was ordered to be

be called after the Name of the Inventors, and the little River *Bievre* which runs by the Building received the same Distinction. These in Appearance were trifling Matters, but will be sensibly felt by the Man of *Genius*. The same Year the House was purchased by the King, and intitled *the Royal Manufactory of the Crown Furniture*; and Provision was made by a *Royal Charter*, to render the Place a *perpetual School and Seminary* of the curious Arts. Here Mr. *Colbert* collected together from all Parts of the World the most able Masters and Designers, as well as inferior *Artists* in the fine Manufactures. *Salaries* were appointed for the *Directors*, and *Pensions* for Life to the Workmen; these were *Tapestry-Weavers*, *Engravers* in *Etching* and *Metzotintoes*; *Goldsmiths*, *Jewellers*, *Carvers*, and *Workers in Ebony*. In this Place was wrought all the magnificent Furniture for fourteen *Royal Palaces*, which has since been deservedly the Admiration of the World. Particular Care was taken that no Part should be furnished elsewhere, much less from Abroad. All *Honorary Presents* to *Foreign Princes* and *Noblemen* Abroad, and to the Ornament of *Temples* and public *Buildings* at home, were made in their best Performances, instead of *Jewels* or *Money*. Many of the *superior Artists* invited from foreign Countries were made *noble*, and all of them had various honorary *Privileges* and

Royal Pensions: The whole Number Superior and Inferior were comprehended amongst the *Natives of France*, and made Free of *Paris*, with full Liberty to practice their respective Trades, were they pleased, after working for a certain Term in the *Gobelines*. This Indulgence extends to all who shall at any Time hereafter practice the limited Time in this Foundation. The whole *Quarter* of the *Gobelines* was exempted from *Taxes* and *Imposts*, and had a *Court of Judicature* peculiar to itself, under the Title of the *Court of the Royal Artists*.

Besides these, there are *three* other *Academies* in *Paris* for the *polite Arts*, with various *Privileges*, *Honours*, and *Pensions* to the Members, forming the governing Part of each *Society*. The *Academy of Painting and Sculpture*; that of *Architecture*, and the *Military* one, of late Foundation. Precedents inviting our Attention, and Imitation, if the latter may not be said to command it. The two former and the *Academy of Sciences* are copied in *Spain*, and are all equally liberal Endowments.

In *England* the Stream of public Favour and Liberality has turned wholly to the Advance of *Sciences*; we have few or no Institutions in Favour of *Arts*, no Place of Residence but for Speculation. The *Royal Society* are indebted to the Public, only for their Name. The *Academies* for instructing

ing Youth in the Rudiments of *Navigation* and *Engineering* are Mean in their Endowments, and Trifling in their Effects. Amongst the many noble Institutions of our present Race of *Patriots*, it seems worthy of their Glory, to make Provision for the Embellishment, Splendour and Ornament of that Country, for whose Security, Strength and Grandeur they have so amply provided. Whoever recollects the Establishment of *Nova-Scotia*, the *Herring Fishery*, the *Reduction of Interest*, the *Cambrick Act*, the Bill for encouraging *Iron* in the *Plantations*, and the *Endowments* of the *Foundling Hospital*, may hope for any rational Provision in this Age.

An *Academy* for the *fine Arts* abovementioned, under a *Royal Charter*, with distinguishing Honours and Privileges for the higher Members, and small Pensions for the lower, might give us a Prospect of some Perfection in the Branches of *Tapestry-weaving*, *Painting*, *Sculpture*, and *Statuary*, and all the lower Trades of Elegance depending on *fine Design*. Without some such *public* Institution, they never yet were carried to an Height in any Country ; no private Fortune can stand out the Time necessary to train up Hands enough to extend the *Art* into a *Trade*: But when once a sufficient Number were made perfect in this *Seminary*, *private* Adventurers would be found ready enough to take up the Business ; for no Place ever wanted

a Trade, that abounded with working Hands well instructed therein.

Of the NATIONAL Effects of REFINED ARTS.

THE Elegancies of Life to a polite and wealthy People become Necessaries; the very natural Wants of a refined *Englishman* and a savage *Indian* are not the same. Artificial Desires by long Habit work themselves into our Constitution, and in the next Generation are innate. A new Refinement creates a new Desire, as importunate as any of the immediate Calls of Nature, when we once perceive the Gratification within the Reach of a little more Industry. Here a peculiar Passion arises useful, like all the rest, under proper Regulation, and productive of much *social* Good, serving both to excite our own Industry and that of others, to carry the Standard of *Genius* and *rational Invention* still higher, and to find endless Employment for an increasing People. Luxury (if the Name were not in ill Repute) might be distinguished into Virtuous and Vicious. So far as it partakes of Invention, and discovers the Application of the higher Gifts of God in the Creation, it is virtuous; and grows only vicious, when we are tempted by it to an

an Abuse of these Improvements. Silk and Gold are given by the same Hand, and may be used with the same Propriety as Wool or Iron ; the Vice is in the Mind, not in the Materials. The poor and wretched *Indian* has every Vice of the *Englishman*.

*Ipse dies agitat festos, fususque per herbam
Ignis ubi in medio, & socii cratera coronant.*

The poor Man differs from the Rich rather in the Price of the Object than the Degree of Passion. Human Nature is throughout the same, except that they whose Minds are unreformed by Discipline, and a right Education, are generally worst ; for a Delicacy in Vice is a Step towards Virtue

The *lower* Branches of Manufacture, wherein the Price is paid chiefly to Labour, contribute most to the Increase of labouring Hands. The Trades of *Refinement* are no Way comparable to these for the Numbers they employ. The former seem to be full, as far as our own, or foreign Markets, can receive their Goods. The Arts of Elegance are next, in which we are an Age behind our Neighbours ; what these may want in Merit, as to Increase of *Numbers*, they make up in that of Wealth, the Price of *Art* rising above *Labour* in Proportion as *Genius* is a scarcer Commodity than *Strength*. *Commercial* States regard an Increase of *Riches* as synonymous to an Increase of *Power*, tho' it

it be only a Mark or Sign of it, and that not infallible. The following Instance may serve to set the Worth of Ingenuity above bodily Strength in a full Light, as well as to shew their different Effects on Numbers and real Power.

In *Russia* we are told *, they had no other Way of making Planks, till near the End of the last Century, but by hewing or chipping away a whole Tree to the necessary Thickness, notwithstanding which, they could afford to sell them cheaper than their Neighbours. Two *Russians* might possibly with hard Labour finish a Plank in a Day in this unartificial Way; in the same Time two Carpenters could with ease saw out twenty good Boards. Without troubling ourselves with the Loss of Timber, if both are sold at a neighbouring Port for the same Money, its plain, the *Russian* must work for a twentieth Part of the Carpenter's Wages: If a Sawyer in *Sweden* can get ten Pence a Day, the *Russian* must be paid with an Halfpenny. It is said their *renowned Czar*, when in *London*, gave an hundred Guineas for the Picture of a favourite Lady, finished probably in the Space of a Day. This Sum is more than one of his Subjects would earn in the abovementioned Trade of making Planks by the Labour of *sixty-nine Years and fifteen Days*, or as much as *fifty Thousand four Hundred* of them would gain in one Day.

* Plan of Commerce.

Day. Should the Returns of two Nations be equal, whilst one traded in *Paintings* alone, and the other in *Planks*, hewed in this Method, it is evident there must be fifty Thousand four hundred Subjects in the latter for every single one in the former.

An Increase of Wealth may attend a Decrease of Numbers and real Strength, for which Reason the Ballance of Money is less to be regarded. The Exports of our Nation may at present exceed a *Million* in the lower Branches of *Bays, Serges, Druggets,* and *Flannels*, and this may employ a Million of Hands. In a Course of Years we will suppose this Trade to be changed for that of *wrought Works, Tapestry, Painting, and Statuary*, in which our *Exports* might amount to *two Millions*; for which a *thousand* Hands full employed would be more than sufficient. Here we see it possible that our Wealth may be annually increased a *Million*, whilst our real Strength is decreased in the Proportion of a *thousand* to *one*. There is nothing incompatible in the Arts of *Ingenuity*, and those of *Labour*, and all the *plainer* Trades may be retained notwithstanding the *higher* Arts are introduced, in which Case we should be both a richer and greater People.

Of

Of ENGINES for Shortening LABOUR.

THE Instance abovementioned may bear a farther Application; the Carpenter by the Contrivance of the Long Saw performs as much in a Day as twenty *Russians* with the Axe; but beyond this, there are in *Sweden* a Kind of *Mills* turned by Water, and so contrived as to take in large Trees on the upper Side the Stream, and deliver them out on the lower, sawed into *Planks*, in a very few Minutes. One of these *Mills* will at least make five hundred *Planks*, whilst the poor *Russians* could hew out a single one; so that it performs the Business of a thousand *Russians* or fifty common Sawyers in a Day, with the Attendance of a single Person.

If these two Nations yearly brought to Market an equal Quantity of *Planks* at the same Price, they who used the Method most artificial would be least numerous; but as there would be a greater Plenty of Money in Proportion to Inhabitants here, they would to Appearance be richer, in the same Proportion as they were fewer. Apparent Plenty of Money is a strong Attractive. The Conveniences of Life are generally plentiful where Money appears so. Perhaps
the

the smaller Nation may make up its Numbers equal to the other, by these Temptations to invite Strangers. *Ingenuity* in one Instance is never single, the same *Genius* will strike out new Trades which invents *compendious* Methods of performing the old ones; and new Employments call for new Hands. The more ingenious Nation will likewise stand the best Chance to gain the whole Market; for besides that, *Machines* generally do the Work truer and better than the Hand, the Labour saved by them is so very great, that if the *Materials* are equally plentiful, they who use the *Machine* must undersell the others in a vast Disproportion. For, as in this Instance, both are supposed to work only to live, *Provisions* can be in no Part of the World dearer than another, in the Proportion of *five hundred* to one. A larger Quantity wrought in a more compendious Manner may call for as many Hands, as a less Quantity in a Way more laborious. All these Considerations tend to make up their Numbers, which will be richer, more improved and more ingenious, either to defend or acquire; for Ingenuity is generally an Over-match for Strength.

On the other Hand it may be argued, that here, as in *Mechanics*, what we gain in Expedition we lose in Strength: It can never be that the *foreign* Market, by the Use of the *Machine*, or all the Consequences of *Ingenui-*

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ty,

ty, can be so much increased as the *home* one is lessened, or in the Proportion of five hundred to one. Numbers of Men are real Power: An equal Number of Labourers are generally stronger than the same Number of Mechanics. The best Writer of the present Age explodes the Use of *Machines*, even of *Water-Mills* for grinding Corn. *L'Esp. des Loix*, vol. 2. p. 116, 117.) The best constituted States have restrained them by *Laws*; by what appears from Authors, the *Romans* used chiefly *Hand-mills*, and if we may judge from the Silence of *Aristotle*, *Pliny* and *Seneca*, *Machines* were very few and simple either amongst the *Greeks* or *Romans*. These Arguments a little vindicate the absurd Policy of the *old Duke* of *Muscovy*, who when a Person offered him a *Project* for towing up a *Barge* with *eighteen Hands*, which then employed an *hundred and ten*, ordered him immediately into Banishment.

In such a Variety of Reasons, it is not easy to determine, to what Degree the Use of *Machines* in general should be admitted. States without *Commerce* regard chiefly the Increase of Numbers and their *home* Markets; and *commercial* States are too apt to consider *Wealth* alone, and *foreign* Markets. Without Prejudice to either, *Engines* may be allowed in the following Cases.

I. When they do such Business as cannot be performed by *Hand* at all. Of this Kind are *Pumps, Fire-Engines, Water-Engines, Looms, Wine and Oil-Presses, Hand-mills* for *Grain*, and perhaps *Horse-mills*.

II. Where the Commodities wrought by them are such as would not be used at all, except they were done by the *Machine*, either being not cheap enough or not good enough for Consumption, when prepared by *Hand*. Under this Head, are the *Mills* for making *Paper*, those for *Forging, Drawing, Slitting, Iron, Copper or Lead, Fulling of Cloth and Leather*, and making *Gunpowder*.

A People without Commerce may safely refuse to admit *Stocking-Looms, Sawing-Mills, Throwing-Engines, Weaving or Spinning-Engines*, (since we have been told there are such,) *Mills* for *striking Files, Cutting-Watch-Wheels, making Nails*, and all the Variety of Inventions produced by a Rivalship amongst Nations contending for Commerce, and private Men for Orders.

Commercial States must have their Eyes on their Neighbours, and if they design to ingross foreign Markets, must provide for the Cheapness of Labour at home. Goods must be made cheap to render them of general Use abroad and at home. Engines for shortening Business ought to be rejected, or not ad-

mitted in *commercial* States; when the Commodity is not at all sold *Abroad*, when it affects not the *Price of Labour*, when the *Machines* would *lessen* our *home* Markets, more than increase our *foreign* ones; which is the Case, I believe, with all the *last mentioned* ones, many of which tend only to take the Trade out of the Hands of *Thousands*, and by a shameful *Monopoly* to enrich one or two. And if they were not most of them already admitted, I should not wish to see them in Use here.

Of the common METHODS of promoting new ARTS.

WHEN *private* Persons invent or introduce from *Abroad* a *new Art*, they generally lay Claim to the Assistance of the *Public*, either by a *Bounty* or a *Patent*. A Distinction should ever be made in the Manner of encouraging a *single Invention* or *Improvement*, and an *Art* capable of being carried into an extensive *Trade* or *Manufacture*. In the Frequency of *Patents* this has not always been attended to. No *Manufacture* can be managed with Secrecy; if one Person only is at Liberty to practice it publicly at home, some of the Workmen or other Person possessed of the Secret, will find Means to escape and carry it *Abroad*, if it is

a *new* Invention. Whether it be so or not, a *Monopoly* for a Term of Years can only retard its Progress to Perfection, and detain so long from the Public the Benefit of a lower Price. Whenever a new Trade arises, the Inventor or Introducer deserves the highest *Honour* and *Rewards*; his Art should be purchased by the *Public* and laid open, so that a Number of Rivals may carry it soon to a necessary Height, and be ready to stock *foreign* Markets as fast as possible. It would be a great Injury to the Public that the new invented *Cotton-Shag*, or any of the Variety of *new Articles* daily produced in the *weaving Countries*, should be confined to the *Inventor*; and yet where the *Fabrick* is quite *new*, he certainly merits some *Regard* from the *Public*; for Want of which, the Growth of our *Manufatures* was ever very slow, compared to that of *France*.

Whenever an ingenious Art is *introduced* from *foreign* Parts, and advances successfully, no Encouragement is so effectual as to check the *Importation* of the same *Manufacture* from *Abroad*, by raising its Price, which is one of the best Uses of *Duties* and *Customs*. The exact Point of Time when this is to be done, depends on the State and Nature of the *Manufacture*. If laid too soon, the *Artist* will not be obliged to exert his *Talents* to excel, and the *Nation* may leave the Use of it from its Dearness; if delayed too long,
the

the Patience and Fortune of the ingenious Undertaker may be exhausted, and the Design given over. Next to knowing the Principles of a Manufacture, certain *compensatory* Methods are necessary to perform it with Expedition. It is not enough to execute *one* Piece, as well or better than the *imported* one, the more important Point is to execute them by the Dozen, and this requires Length of Time and Practice.

Amongst *single Inventions* or *Secrets*, the boasted Remedies of the *Faculties* are rightly rewarded by *Patent*; it is unquestionably for the public Interest that the Inventors should keep their Secrets to themselves: Yet is there not an apparent Absurdity in soliciting an exclusive *Privilege* for the sole making of what they say no one can make but themselves; is it not desiring a *Permission* from the *King* to keep their own Secret? The common Argument runs *for the preventing Counterfeits*. And in this Light, the *general* Good requires they should be indulged with a *Patent*, that all *similar* Ways of injuring the Health of his Majesty's Subjects should be restrained to one, which is paid for. Sometimes the Discovery is adjudged to have *real* Merit, and to be useful to the *public* Health. In which Case, the *Parliament*, in Lieu of a *Monopoly*, has thought proper to honour the Inventor with a *Bounty*, and to make a Present of the Remedy to the *Public*:

lic : As we have seen done with Relation to Mrs. Stephens's Cure for the Stone, the universal Medicine of Dr. Ward, and formerly to the Inventor of a Specific for the Gout.

Patents are frequent for *Books*, which promotes the pirating and printing them Abroad, or in Scotland. In Works of more *Expence* than *Invention*, and where the *Printer* rather than the *Author* applies to the *Public*, perhaps this is the only practicable Method of securing his Property. But when the *Author* has done a Work evidently Useful to the Public, and an Honour to the Nation, it were to be wished he might at least be considered as the *Inventor* of a new *Manufacture*, and that Rewards for good *Books* were as common as for *Medicines*. Burnet was honoured with the Thanks of both *Houses* for the *History of the Reformation*, and Mr. Lock with a small *Bounty* for his *Treatise on Interest and Coin*; besides which I know of no *public* Notice ever taken of *Authors*.

The ingenious *Improvers* of the *Engine* for extinguishing *Fires*, the *solar* and *pocket* *Microscope*, the *Air-pump*, the *reflecting* *Telescope*, and of other *Machines* of curious Structure were properly indulged with *Patents*. The *Contrivers* of the *Fire-Engine*, the *Importer* of the *Italian Throwing-mill*, and the infinite Numbers daily inventing *Machines* for shortening *Business*, have generally

rally been recompensed with a *Patent* ; and some few, if the *Machine* was highly curious and useful, with a *Bounty* and *Honours* also. The Public can suffer nothing from a temporary *Monopoly* of such *Machines* ; since one or two Persons may easily *supply* as many as the Nation will require of each, and they are Things in their own Nature durable, and of Use only in particular Places. Perhaps there are not more than two or three *Throwing-Mills* in the Kingdom, nor above an hundred *Fire-Engines*, or a thousand *Water-Engines*, (for these are rare except in *Towns*) and in general the higher *Machines* (like the most perfect Animals) are fewest in Number ; some of them perhaps for the same Reason as *Beasts of Prey* are observed to be so.

A general DISCOURAGEMENT to new ARTS and DESIGNS.

SINCE Men of *enterprizing Tempers* and *public Spirit* are the Sources of Wealth to a *trading* People, one would hope that the Laws of our State had provided some favourable Distinctions in Behalf of such Men. In *Holland* Bankrupts retain a Tenth of their Estate and Effects, if the *Design* which drew on their Misfortune was greatly beneficial to the Public. Our Laws
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make no Judgment of Men's *public* Virtues. Justice is impartial, and *public* Merit never atones for private Injustice. To collect *Artists* from distant Parts, and prepare Machines and Instruments for any new Trade, or great Design, is a Work of Expence, which none but Men of Fortune ought to undertake; but as it is a Work of Labour and Industry, we are only to expect it from the Neceffitous. The Expence is often greater than can be foreseen, and reduces these Little *Cæsars* to the same Dependance with the *Roman*. Some accidental Disappointment discovers this, just as the *Empire* is in View. The Man becomes a Bankrupt, and, tho' so useful to the *Public*, undergoes the same Fate with the lowest Retailer; allowed by all to be a public *Nusance*, who has perhaps gone on *knowingly* for a Number of Years, exhausting a borrow'd Stock, by a Way of Life above his *Gains*. Nor is this all, the Artists are forced to retire, the Design, however *useful*, falls to the Ground, and is delivered to public Ridicule, under the Name of a *Project*.

In what Manner the MERIT of some
DUTIES may be inhanced.

SO strong is the Turn of this Age to *commercial* Politics, that we have almost introduced a new *Criterion* of *Virtue*
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and Vice, regarding not more their *moral* Differences, than their Influence on Trade. No one has been yet so hardy, as to assert directly, that *Virtue* becomes *Vice*, when it contradicts *commercial* Interests, or *Vice* *Virtue*, by serving the Ends of Trade, tho' some *Authors* have been so understood. There are however certain *Applications* of *Virtues*, that may render them more meritorious by serving *social* Interests, as there are also certain *neutral Inclinations*, which, according to the Turn they take, may have the Effects of *Virtue* or *Vice*, and perhaps really become *moral* under the Direction of the *Statesman*: But no *Vice* whatever can be beneficial to Society: All the Disputes on this Head have arisen from our mistaking *neutral* Actions for *Vices*.

Even *religious* Duties themselves may receive an higher Lustre, and grow more divine by conspiring to promote the Service of Man on Earth; to this the Divine has assented in numberless Instances. In the Preamble to one of *Edward* the VIth's Acts it is set forth, that for the Encouragement of the *Fisheries*, the *Clergy* of *England* did agree with the *Parliament* to augment the Number of *Fast-days*. On a like *political* Argument the *Clergy* of *Spain* have lately reduced theirs near one half, to lessen the Importation of *Bacalao*, or *Salt-fish*, which yearly drew above a Million out of the Nation.

tion. And as White-wax or *Bougie* was also found an expensive *Import*, the same Body ordered, that not more than twelve Flambeaux should be burnt on the Funeral, or *Anniversary* of any deceased *Catholic*. The Traffic in *Indulgences* from *Spain* to the *West-Indies* having turned out a very beneficial Article in the *Trade* of the Nation, a certain Monastery there petitioned to manufacture the Paper for them Duty free, in order to get the whole Trade from other *Catholic Countries*. A Prayer was likewise offered not long since to his Holiness, That for the *promoting of Manufactures* in *Spain*, the Number of *Holidays* might be lessened, that certain *religious Houses, charitable Foundations and Monasteries*, wherein Numbers were maintained in Idleness, might be dissolved. It is a Point frequently urged by Politicians and Divines, that the *Protestant Religion* is better calculated for Trade than the *Catholic*; and the same have objected to the *Methodists* that theirs is not a Religion for a *trading People*. The great and religious Mr. *Boyle* gives it as one Argument for propagating the *Gospel* in foreign Parts, That if the Converts could but learn so much of *Christianity* as to go cloathed, it would add greatly to the Sale of our *Manufactures*.

As Religion has thus displayed her Goodwill to Man by condescending to some com-

mercial Ends, so *Commerce* has on her Part assisted *Religion*. Many of our modern *Churches* owe their Being and Foundation to *Taxes* on *Trade*, not less than that *grand Mosque* built by *Solyman* the First, from an Imposition on all *Christian* Commodities, which gave occasion to an Observation, That the *Sultan* was resolved to go to Heaven, but unwilling to put the *Turks* to any Expence in his Journey.

Of Characteristic Qualities of MEN
and NATIONS, or General Turns
of Mind, indifferent to VIRTUE
or VICE.

THE first Care of those who found or direct States, should be to discover the Cast of Mind peculiar to the People, Country or Climate; for whole Nations have their constitutional Dispositions, as well as Individuals. To give this national Byas a turn to Virtue or Vice, is in the Power of Laws and Customs. No Man nor People are positively good or bad, from *Nature*, but they have the Seeds of some Virtues, as well as Vices, at their Birth.

*Doctrina sed vim promovet instam,
Rectique cultus Pectora roborant.*

To bring out and unfold the one, and to correct

correct the other, is the Part of Heroes and wise Legislators. *Virtuous* Inclinations may be made more useful, and some *vitious* ones less hurtful by a proper Guidance. The History of any Nation through a Succession of Ages, is the surest Clue to direct us to find out this Turn of Mind, as the *Series* of any Man's Actions through Life, will best give us his real Character. Politeness, Trade, and the Imitation of the Manners of other Nations, may sometimes obscure the *national Character*, as Education and Good-breeding hide the Weaknesses of *Men*, yet neither of them so far but that, at one time or other, they will be both discoverable to a common Observer.

A certain Quickness and Sagacity in observing Opportunities, and the Dexterity in applying them, made the Character of the old *Ligurians* ;

Vane Ligur, &c.

Tentâsti Patrias nequicquam Lubricus Artes.

When this was directed into the Road of *Traffic*, we saw *Genoa*, *Florence*, *Leghorn*, and *Pisa*, eminent in the commercial World; when it forsook that Path, they were the Pests of Society for *Piracy*, *Theft* and *Rapine*. The haughty Pride and Gallantry of *Spain*, whenever it was turned to *Arms* produced heroic Soldiers and brave Adventurers. This Temper well seconded brought
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to light a new World: But when not attended to, it relapsed into *Indolence*, *Gravity*, and *idle Reverie*. Their Character in the present Age is "*Gueuser avec Gravité*." The Effeminacy and Softness of the *Chinese* has for Ages been directed to seek Amusement in the sedentary Arts of curious Luxury. A *despotic* Power, and a Policy, corrected and adjusted by the longest Experience of any Empire on Earth, has held these Nations at all Times steady in this one Track. The wily Spirit of the *Africans* raised *Carthage* to the Height of *Commerce*: In their Barbarism they were *cunning Thieves* and *expert Hunters*. *Saving of Money* is a neutral Action. Where there is a natural Disposition to this, it may be made Avarice or Frugality: The former an insatiable Desire of getting, the latter a prudent Care in spending. The strong Propensity of a *Dutch* Mind to *get* and *keep*, being well seconded by Laws, and confirmed by Education, produces *Diligence*, *Vigilance*, and *good OEconomy*, from whence results national *Temperance* in Food and Pleasures; an excellent Temper for Trade and Morality; for *OEconomy* is the Guard of many Virtues. *Vanity* is a Turn of Mind to take a Merit to oneself from trifling Ornaments: Where this is *national*, it is a Foible of excellent Use; the Customs or Laws of that State will suffer it to exhaust itself on *Dress* and *Furniture*.

ture. In this Road it is no longer a *Vice*, but takes its Rank amongst the *Half-Virtues*. A national *Grossness of Understanding* may be checked from sinking into *Sloth and Debauchery*, and take a turn by slow Degrees to *Method and Order* in Business. *Luxury*, or rather *Delicacy*, is the Character of the *Asiatics* to a Proverb. The Wisdom of *Eastern Policy* has ever favoured this elegant Turn. Their Country is still the Seat of *Paradise* and Pleasures, and an home Market for above an Hundred Millions.

Every *trading State* generally contains all these Characters, either introduced by Communication with other Nations, or arising from the native Variety of Temper and Constitution; yet above all, there will ever be some *national Cast* visibly predominant. That of the *English* seems to be *Easiness* join'd with *Spirit* and *Ambition*; or to use *Shakespear's* Terms, we are *gentle, brave and generous*. On one Side lies *Good-nature, Courage*, and a *Love of Honour*; on the other, *Carelessness, Haughtiness*, and a *prodigal Disregard of Life and Money*. If our Temper took the best turn, the Qualities are but unpromising for a *trading People*. The *commercial Statesman* could only avail himself of our *Love of Honour*. *Ambition* rather than *Industry* began our *Trade* and foreign *Discoveries*. Other Nations, coming hither by a Variety of Accidents, wrought their

their Manufactures before our Eyes, by whom we scorned to be *outdone*. *Habit* by degrees reconciled us to *Labour*, and wrought *Industry* out of our native *Perseverance*.

Of our own MARKETS.

I May call those our own Markets, which continue in our own Power, by being subject to our Laws, and Parts of one Empire. These are *England*, *Ireland* and the *Colonies*. We may regard the whole as one Country, and the Colonies as distant Counties of *England*, divided advantageously from the rest, by a large Tract of Waters, over which all Trade and Intercourse must be carried on, to the great Increase of shipping and maritime Business. Of all these Markets, and indeed of all our others, this Island is the first and greatest; the Consumption of *England*, in our own Manufactures and Produce, being said to exceed * forty-two Millions, whilst all our foreign Trade together amounts not to seven, of which *Ireland* and the *Colonies* are more than half. These Proportions, whether critically exact or not, serve to shew us the Importance of our own Markets. Here no rival Manufactures can oppose us, and no Force or Cunning supplant us. No severe Prohibitions can keep out our Commodities, nor arbitrary Duties be

* *Brit. Merchant*, Vol. I.

be imposed to raise their Price, and lessen their Consumption.

Of *ENGLAND*.

SINCE *England* alone manufactures and consumes so incredible a Quantity of Commodities, the first Regard must be paid to this Market. To increase our Number of People, and improve the Value of our Lands here, must be our principal Care, since on this, all the rest depend for Defence and Increase. At first Sight it may seem indifferent, in what Part of this Kingdom the *Manufactories* are fixed, since all refer to one Center: Yet on a further Observation we shall see the same Reasons to prefer the *Middle of England* to the *Extremes*, as to give *England* itself a Preference to its *Colonies*. The most obvious one is, that the Means of Defence may be near at Hand, to secure the *Metropolis*, whose Fate all the rest of the Dependencies must follow. It is also for the Increase of the *whole*, that Trades which are not *Local*, should remain, where Chance or Design first fixed them, (which is in *England*, and chiefly in the middle Parts) for there they will be carried on most advantageously. Manufactures, by their own *natural* Course, will ever remove from the *dearer* to the *cheaper* Places; ours evidently tend

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Northwards ; and if this natural Propension is aided ever so little by the *directing* Care, it will be neither a Work of much *Time* or *Difficulty*, to draw most of the remaining *Trades* into the *North*, or to *Ireland* , where even the *Spittle-Fields Branch* of Business would be carried on much *cheaper*, if that is all we are to regard. To raise *new Towns* by the Reduction of *old* ones, is not to increase our Strength ; nor does *removing* our People, add to their Numbers. Whatever diminishes *London*, tends to the Decrease of the *whole*. A collected Body of Men makes greater Numbers necessary in the Nation, than if the same People dwelt in several *separate* Places. For if the Quantity of Consumption be supposed the same, yet its Influence on Trade is prodigiously advanced, by being all pointed to one Center. Small Towns find all their Conveniences near them, and produce scarce any Effect further than about thirty Miles round. Whereas *London* puts the whole Nation in Motion. The Extremes of the *Island*, feel the Influence of this renowned *Metropolis* ; Three or four thousand Sail of *Ships* are required to bring *Corn* from the *Eastern Coasts* ; *Coals* from the *North* ; *Salt*, *Tin*, *Lead* and *Fish* from the *West* ; besides the infinite Numbers of *Horses* and *Land-Carriages*, which croud the Roads to this *Capital* from every Part of the *Island*. Add that, by its Greatness, it is become

become the *Center* of all *foreign Commerce*; hither our *Exports* are sent to be shipped, and from hence the *Imports* dispersed over the Kingdom; so that it is a general Market and *Magazine* for the *World*; and occasions more Business than *fifteen* such Cities as *Bristol*. The prodigious Populoufness of the neighbouring Towns, Villages, and Counties, is to be ascribed to this; and it is an Argument of its vast Importance to the *national Increase*, that all the other Towns of *England* grow great, only in Proportion to their *Connexions and Intercourse* with this.

The COLONIES.

ENGLISH Colonies are Settlements of distant Friends and Countrymen, placed in various Climates, to supply the Parent State with Produce or Manufactures peculiar to their Situation; and in return, to receive from thence every thing necessary for the more common Uses and Conveniences of Life. Thus one Part assists the other, by an Exchange of Wants, and all grow and encrease together. —

Alterius sic

Altera poscit Opem Res & conjurat Amice, —

For many Years after the first planting of the *American Colonies*, all of them received

even their *Food*, and most common *Necessaries*, from *England*, or from the *West of Ireland*, in *English* Vessels. At that time every Head in the *Plantations* contributed more to the Advance of our Rents, than if he lived in *England*; for he not only assisted us by the Growth, Manufacture and Consumption of all *Necessaries*, as a common Inhabitant, but found further Business for the Shipping, by the Conveyance of his Food. After some Experience, this was found too strait, both for them and ourselves. That Men may be encouraged to work, the *Necessaries* of Life must be constantly supplied; and that they may work cheap, these must be sold so: As they came charged with the Expence of a long Voyage, and came at all only at the Uncertainty of the Winds, the Price of Provisions, and of Consequence that of the Returns, was raised to an excessive Height. It was therefore thought proper to allow them to procure Food and *Necessaries* amongst themselves, or from nearer Settlements, and this in their own Vessels, the Strictness of the Navigation-Act being more agreeable to the haughty Spirit and comprehensive Genius of *one* Man, than to *English* Easiness and Generosity.

After this necessary Relaxation took effect, we saw a quick and surprising Increase of the *Colonies*. Instead of Villages, to supply

ply with common Necessaries, we soon beheld large Towns, well filled with thriving Inhabitants, and calling upon *England* for large Supplies of the *higher* Manufactures. We were then convinced, how much better a Trade it is to cloath ten rich Customers, than to feed and cloath five poor ones. Thus far our Policy was right. Mankind are apt to proceed too far, in a Track at first successful: Pursuing the same Argument, we suffered them to advance to various Manufactures of an higher Kind, similar to our own, and no way necessary to the Increase of the whole. Every *original* Trade, beyond those of *Victualling*, which the *Colonies* take to themselves, deprives us of the Market for that Manufacture, and lessens their own. For whatever impairs the *capital* Nation, diminishes the *best* Market the Plantations trade to, besides weakening the common Defence: And if to prosecute this, their local Trades are neglected or forsaken, the main Advantages are lost, for which Colonies were at first founded *.

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* Perhaps the present Rise of Sugars is to be attributed to this, as well as to natural Accidents. Before we had a sufficient Quantity of Land for Corn in England, how variable was the Price! how often exorbitant! and always imputed to the Seasons! — It is not without Reason said, That the Wisdom or Industry of Man may command even the Stars, or Seasons.

I R E L A N D.

IRELAND, differing something in its Policy from a *Colony*, and pretending to be more nearly a Part of *England*, and claiming besides the *original* Rights of a *Kingdom*, reduced by *Conquest* only to a Dependance on us, was first permitted to furnish its own *Markets* with most Kinds of *Woollen Goods*, *Linnen*, *Hats*, *Shoes*, *Stockings*, *Glaſs*, *Books*, *Iron* and *Steel-work*, and *Toys*. The *Silk* and *Cotton* Trades are lately begun, and if the *Genius* of Manufacture continues its present Influence there, we must not expect them to be long a *Market* for us in one single Commodity.

If the *Linnen* Trade there had not suffered some small Checks from our Jealousy, *Ireland* might have answered every End of a *Colony*, by making this Branch its *peculiar* or local Manufacture, and restraining their Attempts, in all other Trades. The Discouragements and growing Duties on their *Linnen*, has forced them to take up other Manufactures, as well as to return to their old Business of *Viſtualling*, in which their Sale being chiefly to *France*, or the *Straights*, and all Merchants being apt to buy where they sell, they are induced to bring back many Commodities ſimilar to thoſe they
would

would receive from hence, if their *Linen* Trade was greater, and their others less.

Of the VICTUALLING COLONIES.

THE Colonies which trade in *Provisions*, will be the first to follow the Example of *Ireland*; for Labour will ever be cheap, where *Food* is the Staple of the Place. *New-England* and *Carolina* have already, by our Connivance or Neglect, cut off our Market amongst them, for many Kinds of *Iron* and *Steel Wares*, *Gloves*, *Stockings* and some of the coarser Sorts of *Woollen Stuffs*; proceeding still forwards with Spirit, unrestrained by the Execution of any Laws. As they now undersell us in their own Markets at *home*, which are very considerable, and it is the Nature of Manufactures to advance and increase *beyond Expectation*, and of all new Undertakers to improve their Art, they will in time overflow into *foreign* Markets with cheaper and better Sorts than our own; for cheap Goods, by Force or Stealth, will find a Market. *New-England*, like *Ireland*, might have settled Accounts with us, by their *Iron*, *Flax*, and *Naval Stores*, if their Industry had been *seasonably* and *properly* directed, and at last perhaps it had been better to be ill-paid than wholly to lose the Market.

Some

Some of the ARGUMENTS for admitting these ENCROACHMENTS refuted.

OUR Inattention on these Points, our Want of Resolution or of Power, has been defended by many, on this general Argument.—That as a *rich* and populous Country, usually takes more for the Supply of its *Luxuries*, than a *poor* State for *Necessaries*, we ought by all Means whatever, to promote the Riches and Increase of the *Colonies*: A large Town is a better Market to a Neighbourhood than a small Village; and a rich City than a Hamlet of Husbandmen. This, I confess to be true, except where the City becomes rich by supplying all its own Wants; or the Town large, by taking in every Trade of the Neighbourhood, in which Case they are no Market at all. For this Reason, the Empire of *China* as rich and populous as it is, is no Market for the rest of the World.

Another popular Argument is, that, in Proportion as we allow the *Colonies* to furnish themselves with Conveniences, as well as Necessaries, they may afford their peculiar Produce still cheaper to *England*; so that what we lose in Manufactures, we may gain in *Re-exportation* of *American* Commodities; whilst

whilst the *Colonies* from the Growth of a larger Quantity, would at the same Time receive a very great Increase. The Force of this Argument tends to prove, if any thing, that, in our Policy, we ought to prefer the Interest of the *West-Indies* to that of *England*, since we allow them a double Advantage, (that of our *Manufactures*, and the increased Growth of their own) in Exchange for a single Benefit to ourselves. Perhaps the *Re-exportation* of bulky Goods, in which Carriage makes a principal Part of the Value, if performed faithfully and in *English* Bottoms, might be a considerable Article; but, as it is known to be managed, all the Profits to *England* from re-exported *Sugars* and *Tobacco* hold no Sort of Proportion to the least considerable *Manufacture*. The very lowest Article of *Cloathing* employs many Thousands, all living in *England*, paying to our Rents and adding to the Worth of our Lands, whereas the *Re-exportation* is an uncertain Article, calls for few Hands, and such as pass not half their Time in *England*: Besides, the *Colonies*, which interfere most in our *Manufactures*, furnish us little or nothing for *Re-exportation*: And, if we had stopped at the Point of *Viſtualling* aforementioned, we might have re-exported as cheap as our Neighbours, who confine their *Colonies* just where ours were fifty Years ago.

Another

Another common Defence is, that it is a less Evil to give up these *Manufactures* to the *Plantations*, than to suffer them to fetch them from our *Enemies*, because we supply the Plantation-Manufacturer with some Part of his Wants, but an Enemy with none. No Man is further a Market to us, than as some of his Wants employ ultimately *English Hands*. A *Negro* working naked in the *Plantations*, and fed on *American Produce*, assists us no more than an Enemy; for which Reason, a Bounty was once proposed for those, who kept more than a certain Number of *White Slaves* in Proportion to *Negroes*. But if even these were all fed and cloathed amongst themselves, it is the same Case to us as if they went naked; they are indifferent to the Interests of *England*, excepting that, we are restrained to buy their Produce and pay for their Labour. They act against all *Justice* therefore, if they deal with our *Enemies* for our *Manufactures*, whilst we buy their peculiar Commodities of them alone.

In Behalf of *Ireland* and *Scotland*, it is urged with more Appearance of Reason, that to suffer them to raise new Towns, by the Introduction of *Manufactures* into a *poor* and *half-civilized* Country, is in some Measure to raise a new Market for ourselves, and for the *whole*. Since they, who before through Poverty or sordid Ignorance, contented themselves with bare Necessaries, will now not only

only wear the Manufactures of the Place, but call for others also, of various Sorts, as their Ability to purchase them increases; at the same Time the whole Neighbourhood is put in Motion, and stimulated to better their Way of Living, and taste the Conveniences of Industry and Commerce. This Argument is in Part already answered. Every Man of social Principles and an humane Heart must look with Rapture on a Country rising from *Barbarism*, and would gladly promote every Art that tends to polish and civilize Mankind. The Cultivation of Manufactures is most effectual and sure for this Purpose, and if they could be restrained within these Limits, and stopped as soon as this Effect was produced, there could be no Harm in spreading all our Manufactures over *Scotland* and *Ireland*; but Experience has taught us that no Manufacture can be confined to an *home* Sale, but will soon overflow its Bounds and prevent our own Trade. To raise these People therefore from their *Barbarism*, to throw ourselves gradually into the same State again, to rival our Growth, drain off our Numbers, and dissipate our Strength, is too high a Strain of Heroism. Whilst they confine themselves to their *local* and *prescribed* Trades, they help forward the Interest of the *whole*, and advance the Increase of their *capital* Nation, together with their own.

Upon the whole then, there seems to be an immediate Necessity to secure to ourselves those Trades which the *Colonies* have not yet attempted, and to repress their Attempts in such, as they possess at present but in their Infancy. When Manufactures are once thoroughly settled, it is a dangerous Attempt and an intolerable Oppression to destroy them. A rising Trade is easily and insensibly damped by Duties and Discouragements in its first Beginning. Whilst the Hands are few and imperfect, they may, without Force be diverted to other Callings, and their Teachers invited home again. Many of the *Counties* of *England*, are said not to be above two Thirds inhabited, and that there is more Difference in the Price of Land, frequently in a few Miles Riding here, than *betwixt France and Russia*. *England* calls first for a full Improvement. Every *new trading Town* here, makes a new Market to the *Farmer*, and doubles, nay sometimes increases an hundred Fold the Rents to the *Landlord*.

A General Mistake with regard to the NATURALIZATION-BILL.

DURING the Ferments raised last Winter, all over the Nation, by the Proposal of a *general Naturalization*, few of

of either Side the Question, descended to the Examination of Particulars. All our Arguments here in the Country, turned on the Increase of Numbers, the lowering Wages, and other general Advantages to the Nation, which raised the Question to a Point of Importance it very little deserved. Whenever any Matter debated in Parliament becomes the Subject of popular Dispute, through some unlucky Accident, or the Arts of Opposition, it is very common for both Parties to lose sight of the main Question, and spend all their Force on one of its supposed Consequences. In this Case, the lower Class was most immoderately divided, on the Subject of *lowering Wages*. This was a Consequence on all hands presumed to follow; this was clear to every Man's *Common Sense*; but popular Opinion is not always to be followed for *Common Sense*. The Sense of the common People on the Points of Religion, Commerce, and Government was very different from *Common Sense*, before the Age of *Luther, Rawleigh* or *Hambden*. The Intention of these Pages (after so many abler Hands have left it unnoticed) is to point out a fresh Error of the Common People, and to shew that amongst the many beneficial Effects of a Naturalization Act, hereafter enumerated, this of *lowering Wages*, would not unfortunately have taken place. Whenever a Question gets amongst the Vulgar, one single
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Argument determines them, and that Argument not unfrequently a single Word. We are not to think it strange that a *General Naturalization* should be condemned by the lower Class, when Words so unpopular as the Introduction of *Foreigners* and *lowering Wages*, both awaked an hereditary Aversion, and alarmed their Self-Interest.

Let us reflect a little on the general Circumstance, whereon the Rate of *Wages* in various Countries depends. When this is discovered, we shall see at once, that no Act of a Legislature can affect it.

On the Price of LABOUR.

IN all Parts of the World where they have the Use of Money, the Values of Lands, Houses, Provisions and all Commodities follow the real or imaginary Plenty of it. We may regard Labour as a *Commodity* amongst the rest, which every Man will buy as cheap as he can, and therefore the poorer Sort, whose Manufacture it is, are obliged continually to undersell each other. They who sell cheapest must live, and they who must sell only to live, are unfortunately in all Countries the greater Number, these will therefore fix the Price of the Commodity. The Price of a Day's Labour will be a Day's Subsistence. Where Food and Cloathing, the

the Necessaries of a Day, are purchased for little, there Wages will be low, or Labour cheap.

The Price of a Day's Necessaries depends on the apparent Plenty of Money. If the Capital of any Nation is invariable, or admits of no visible Increase, the apparent Plenty of Money will be ever the same, and the Prices of Provisions, Cloathing, and all things continue for Ages unaltered. This is the Case wherever Commerce adds nothing to the Stock, and is observable all over the boundless *manufacturing* Countries of the *East*. As they are populous beyond Belief, and have no Mines or Commerce, the Quantity of Specie in Proportion to People, is always the same, and that very small. Little of it is therefore given for Provisions; the Produce of Lands yields little; Rents are low; Houses are built for little, and sold and rented for little; and Money, being a most valuable Commodity, brings in an exorbitant yearly Hire or Interest. If there is any Difference here in the Price of Labour, it is ever highest in the most populous Parts, where the Demand for it is greatest.

In *commercial* States the Case is reversed. Here the *national Stock* receives a regular and constant Increase, equal to the yearly Balance of the Trade; the Prices of Lands, Houses, Provisions, and Labour consequently, are in continual Advance. Rents of Lands
are

are high, and Money being, after every Increase, less and less rare and valuable, brings in a Rent, still lower and lower. Besides this *real* Increase of the *Capital*, there is an *imaginary* one much greater, by the Use of public and private *Credit*, and the Necessity of *Banks*. Inland-Trade and Manufactory States require little or no Credit, but wherever there is *Commerce* carried on, this cannot be avoided. In *Holland* every Branch of Credit, public and private, is in the Extreme. By a Note of the Bank, any Man may convert his House, Land, or Goods, into Money, and send them to Sea, or to War. Thus the whole Purchase or Fee-simple of the Nation, is ever in Currency, as well as their real Cash. Through this, the *ideal* Plenty of Wealth is so great, that it has been made a *Question* whether there is *actual* Gold and Silver in the whole World to discount their Bills and Notes. Notwithstanding which, the Effect on the Prices of Commodities, Lands, Houses and Labour is the same as if the whole Sum was really in the *Stadtthouse*, or all the Soil of the Country under their Feet, solid Gold. The Direction of this national Stock centers in few Hands, and is kept continually in Sight, no Money being ever dormant, or out of Circulation. According to this apparent Plenty, together with the real Increase from

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Commerce, the Price of Lands, Houses, Provisions and Labour daily advances.

The Case of *Colonies* is particularly full to the Purpose. These are wholly *commercial*, yet all their Trade is, or should be, with the Parent-State. Here the Product of their Soil and Labour is sent, and hence the Returns made, but not in Money. The Vender receives other Commodities, Provisions or Manufactures, which the Labourer must take as his Pay. This being inconvenient, there is a Necessity for *universal* Credit; a private Ticket must be created to answer the Ends of Money: Thence arises a Power subject to be abused by inordinate Men; and sometimes through this *supposititious* Coin, the imaginary Plenty of Money has swelled to such an Excess, that Wages and all other Commodities have grown to an incredible Price. Here too, as in all other Countries, every Man not in Slavery, works a Day to earn a Day's Provision, which through the above-mentioned Abuse, and the Distance from which his Provision comes to him, arises to a great Sum.

This is the true State of Wages in the Extremes of *Inland Trade* and *Commerce*. In Proportion as Kingdoms approach nearer to one or other of these, Wages will be low or high, and in that Proportion only. No Laws can raise the Prices of any Commodities, or of Labour in a *Manufactory* State,

or prevent their Advance in a *commercial* one.

It is no longer wonderful that in the *Mogul's* Empire the Rate of Wages should be so very low, that they could afford to undersell us here, in our own Inland Markets, if our Laws did not prohibit their Goods; though their Manufactures would come to us charged with a Voyage of Twenty thousand Leagues, a prodigious Land-Carriage, and great Duties both in the *Indies* and at unloading. In *China* they give not quite *Two-pence* a Day; in *Jamaica* Five Shillings; in *Barbadoes* from Seven to Nine; the Commerce of *France* is to their Inland Trade as one to Twelve, ours as One to Six; that of *Holland* exceeds their Inland-Trade. The Price of Labour is proportionably different; *France* gives from Five-pence to Eight-pence a Day, in those Businesses where we give from One Shilling to Eighteen-pence, and *Holland* from One Shilling and Eight-pence to Two Shillings, Two and Six-pence, and Three Shillings. In each of these Places Wages continue advancing with the Increase of Commerce. In *Spain* the Price of Labour is low, Money a dear Commodity, Land cheap: In *Genoa* and the commercial States of *Italy* all fluctuate with public *Credit* and *Commerce*.

Some

Some Reflexions on an enormous CAPITAL STOCK.

HA S not the happy Invention of *Banks* degraded the Worth of Gold and Silver more than the Discovery of the *Indies*? And should we not have been as rich as we are now, and might not Trade have kept its Course, though *America* had yielded neither Gold nor Silver, if Paper had at all times possessed its present Power to tempt Industry.

Interest of Money has been reduced four Times within the last Century from Eight down to Three *per Cent.* (following *Holland*, after a short Interval, in each Reduction) the Price of Land has risen in the same Time from Eighteen to Thirty Years Purchase: what will be the *last* Reduction of Interest, and *last* Rise of Land?

What would be the Effect of a Law to take away Interest; and what was the Policy of *Moses* in prohibiting all Interest among the Children of *Israel*?

Must not they who now live at their Ease on the Interest of their Money, call it in and trade with it themselves, by which every Man would be forced to Industry alike: Or, if they still preferred a Life of Ease, must they not lay it out in *Land*; and would not Land become an inestimable Possession by the Multitude of Purchasers?

Does not the Increase of all States depend on the Power to force Labour, and does not the Use of Banks, with the yearly Ballance brought in, vest great Shares of this Power in private Hands, and raise an useful Disproportion betwixt the Merchant, Manufacturer, and his Workmen, who in a free State can only be forced to labour for him by Necessity?

Are not Banks and great Fortunes more necessary in States of a *republican* Cast, than in *despotic* Governments? Money makes those Men Slaves by Choice whom no Power could compel.

Will not this Power of the Purse necessarily carry States into some Form of a *Commonwealth*, for where Power is in many hands, there are many above Government?

The Power of creating Money being next to Empire, ought in all States that would preserve their *Form*, as well as in *Colonies*, to be a *public* Trust.

The same Arts which quicken the Growth of *Plants*, shorten their Duration. The Institution of *Banks* is one of the Arts to which *commercial* States owe their speedy Maturity; and must not the same bring on their Decay? When by the long Use of an untainted Credit and prosperous Trade, the national Stock comes to be multiplied to an infinite Excess, above that of their Rivals in *Commerce*, as well as that of the Nations with

with whom they trade, will not the Price of all Things rise to such an Height that their Manufactures can no longer be sold abroad?

Are not *Inland* or *Manufactory* States remarkably more secure and unchangeable than *commercial* ones? And is it not owing principally to this, that as the Stock of Wealth never visibly increases, the Inhabitants of all Kinds are held on for Ages in the same Track of Industry and Morality, and Sons obliged to follow the Trade of their Parents for Subsistence?

Are not the *East-Indies* the same in this Age they were three thousand Years ago; as full of People, Buildings, improved Lands; the Place still from whence every thing must come to be stiled curious and rare; the Empire of *China* being still called (without Hyperbole) a single City, Twelve Hundred Leagues in Circuit, whilst *Tyre*, *Carthage*, *Corinth*, *Syracusa*, *Alexandria*, are no more than historical Monuments of the Insecurity of Places depending on Commerce?

As *England* is in its Government the happiest Mixture of Monarchy and Freedom, so is there not in its Policy the same due Proportion of *Manufactory* and *commercial* Greatness?

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That no Act of a Legislature can prevent the Rise of WAGES.

THE Principle on which the gradual Rise of Wages depends, falls not within the reach of *Laws*. It is interwoven with our Being and Constitution as a *commercial* State. Whilst a Ballance is annually brought in from our Trade, whilst Credit flourishes, and new Funds are yearly created, the Public must apparently grow rich, and where Wealth is plentiful it cannot be hid. The richest must be obliged to Inferiours for their Labour and Assistance; and as these are importunate, through Poverty, and continually incroaching, they must gain upon the Easy and Indolent; for it is the Rich who first consent to any Advance of Wages, nor can any Laws or general Agreements of Masters prevent it. Wages have ever risen since first our *Commerce* began, and will continue to advance with the *national Stock*.

The first Set of Laws for preventing this, are of a *moral* Nature, such are those enacted by our virtuous Ancestors, to punish Idleness in the Poor, to restrain Drunkenness, and forbid extravagant Diversions. These were no Doubt, framed on the worthiest Motives, and deserve a more general Execution. To hold the lower Orders to Industry, and guard

guard the Morals of the Poor, on whom all Nations must rely for Increase and Defence, is the truest Patriotism. National Vices are ever at Strife with Laws; and Increase with Wealth; and national Reforms, are only in the Power of God. Laws cannot change Habits. Customs must be altered by better Customs and better Examples. Our first *Kings* began their Cares early enough, if human Foresight could prevent or invert natural Consequences. To restrain is easier than to reform, as an Horse is with less Difficulty held in than stopped from his Speed. One would think it possible to keep those poor, who never knew what Riches were; but to bring back a People to Poverty and hard Fare, who have been used to a full Way of Living, is a desperate Attempt.

A second Kind of Laws to prevent the Rise of Wages, are the old Rates yearly reprinted, and which the Magistrates are, to no Purpose, injoin'd to execute, appointing the Rates of Wages as in the last Century. These are of a more despotic Cast: The Poor are Part of a free State as well as the Rich, and will not be kept at an undue Subordination. The lowest must live; but to hold Wages down to a Point beyond which they must never rise, whilst every necessary of Life is daily rising upon the Workman, is to starve Industry and Idleness alike. The

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Intention of Laws is to force out Industry, not to abate the Price of it: This is fixed by other Circumstances. Laws can do no more than prevent or break temporary Combinations and Impositions of Workmen, which need not often be broke this Way, since every poorer Man is a Check upon his Neighbour. The Price of a Day's Labour ought in Reason to be something more than a Day's Subsistence, to provide for Days when we cannot work, and for Children not yet able. All Christian Governments give an Advantage to Industry and Frugality above Idleness and Extravagance. There would be no room for Virtue, if there was no Overplus, which the Idle and Improvident might exhaust, the Extravagant spend, and the Thrifty lay by. The Hope of Ease, however remote or unlikely, is the Inducement to Labour. The Prospect of a better way of Life in the Industrious, must excite Emulation in the Idle.

That Numbers do not cause a REDUCTION of WAGES.

IT appears, from what has gone before, that the Rate of Wages depends on something less obvious than Numbers. All Methods tending to increase the Capital, will also increase the Price of Labour and all Commodities;

modities ; and it has been demonstrated by many of our Writers, that every new Subject brings an Addition yearly to the Capital of two Pounds at least*. A Multitude of new Subjects (if we could procure them) would make a very large annual Increase of the Stock, and very much advance the Price of Lands, Houses, Provisions and Labour ; for wherever they are supposed to come from, they must pay to our Rents, wear our Manufactures, and live on such Provisions as they find here ; and it is evident to Common-Sense, that a Number of new Consumers will raise the Prices of all these, and of Labour at last. We have common Experience of this, from the Effects of the temporary Resort of Numbers to a Country-Fair or Horse Race ; much more would it be observable if the same Concourse was to continue there all the Year round.

The Number of working Hands in this Kingdom, by the lowest Calculation, exceeds *six Millions*. From what Parts of the World can we conceive it possible to draw over a Multitude sufficient to affect the Price of Labour amongst such Numbers. An Addition of half a Million would scarce be felt. Whilst the last *persecuting Edicts* were in force, and our Kingdom laid open by a *general* Naturalization, it appeared, we did not receive annually above five Hundred Strangers ; a Number too small to deserve

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Notice,

* *Brit. Merchant*, Vol. I.

Notice, or to cause the least Alteration of Wages, if Numbers could ever do that. These new Comers to produce a general Abatement of Wages must be supposed also well-skilled in every Trade, and to spread at once all over the Kingdom; for we find it impossible long to keep the Standard of Wages in any one Trade or Place, below that of others. It is Reason sufficient not to bring up a Son or Apprentice to one Trade, that better Wages are to be got in another; and we daily see Manufacturers leaving the Places where Wages are low, and removing to others, where they can get more Money. And thus all settle alike by degrees, the Effect of Numbers being not to lower Wages, but as Experience has always shewn, to advance them. During the Wars in the *Netherlands*, we are told by *Strada*, above an Hundred Thousand Families took refuge in *England*; the greatest Migration, except that of the *Israelites*, recorded in History. From these Strangers we derive the Commencement of Manufactures, and the Foundation of every Benefit of Commerce: yet the Abatement of Wages was so far from being one of the Consequences, that they rose remarkably, advancing, in a few Years, from four Pence a Day to eight Pence. Provisions fetched a better Price, Rents rose with the Increase of Trade, and the Nation began to flourish in Wealth and Arts. We
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are to expect no such Removals in this Age. In *Holland* Wages have continued to advance with an uniform Pace, as their Numbers multiplied. *England* is at present fuller of People than in the Reign of *Charles I.* yet Wages have risen ever since, with a regular Progression. The *Middle* of the Kingdom is more populous than the *Extremes*, and *Towns* more than *Villages*, yet is the Price of Labour greater in them than these. All over the World Wages are highest (other Circumstances being alike) in the most populous Places.

Some of the Reasons why we are underfold by FRANCE.

I. **T**HE *Capital* of *England* is much further advanced than that of *France*, in proportion to the Number of People in each, through the earlier Date of our Commerce, the longer Use of an extended Credit, the Multiplicity of ideal Funds, and the unbounded Liberty of circulating Paper on private Credit: hence it is that the Materials for all Manufactures, and the Rates of Labour are dearer here than in *France*, and all Provisions near double.

II. So fruitful is the *Soil*, and so happy the Climate of *France*, that the Produce of

all Quarters of the World may be raised there : Hence they have the *Materials* of many *Fabricks* at home, which we are forced to purchase and import, as the best of *Silk*, *Flax* equal to that of *Egypt* ; and it is said, *Cotton* too, in some small Quantities.

III. Inland *Carriage* is near *Sixty per Cent.* cheaper in *France* than *England* ; Goods passing as far as from *London* to *Edinburgh* for five Shillings the long Hundred. This, in coarse Woollen and Linnen Goods, has a considerable Influence on the Price.

IV. On some particular Occasions, when it will serve their Trade, they take the utmost liberty of debasing their *Coin*. If the Merchant Manufacturer sells abroad for better Money than he pays with at home, he can afford to sell for less of it : This Practice has its Inconveniencies, some of which affect not them, by reason of their Inland Situation and arbitrary Government.

V. This populous and wide Empire subsisted itself till near the middle of the last Century by an *Inland Trade* : Their Commerce and some of their Manufactures are but beginning to grow considerable. *England* must have sat down with a small Share of the Trade of the World, if their *Colbert* and *Lewis* had been cotemporaries with *Henry VII.* Their ill Policy in *religious* Matters gave us some Advantages, and returned us in the *Silk* what they were beginning to
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take from us in the *Woollen*. The Progress of *France* in the last is astonishing, for tho' they began it not to any Purpose till near one Hundred and Fifty Years after us, yet they soon came up with us, and so nearly kept our Pace for this last Century, that they have given us from time to time as many Improvements as they have received. If they adopted our *Drap de Londres*, *Sayer*, *Bayes* and *Serges*, we derive from them our *Alopinés*, *Duroys*, *Serge de Nismes*, and a Thousand Varieties of slighter Texture. This rapid Advance can only be attributed to the superior Encouragement their Manufactures have received in their Rise and Progress, from the noble Munificence of their *Princes*, and the Genius of their Statesmen: Whilst our rising Trades were always left to settle themselves, and the Undertakers met with neither Honour nor Bounty; no, nor even the least public Notice, from the Death of Queen *Elizabeth* to the last Revolution.

VI. It was observed above, that national Turns of Mind have great Effects on the Interests of *Commerce*. As Vanity is the general Character of *Frenchmen*, by the Confession even of their own Authors, so it there takes the best Track for the Interest of a manufacturing People, when it luxuriates in *Dress*, *Equipage* and *Furniture*. *Profusion* and *Drunkennes* are the faulty Exuberance of *English* Easiness and Spirit. These two
national

national Imperfections will bear no Sort of Comparison, either in a moral or political Light. A Love of Elegance depraves not the Health, nor injures the Understanding ; if it may not be thought to refine both. Drunkenness is hurtful each way ; both shortening the Term of Labour, and hindering the Perfection of it. One half of our Life is lost to the Public, and the other must be paid for so much the dearer, which doubles the Injury. It is not those who are absolutely idle that injure the Public so much as they who work but half their Time ; since these being the greater Number, fix the Price of Labour, and the others have nothing to do with it. Further, the Passion for Dress cannot be gratified 'till a Sum is made up, and therefore the Desire itself continues to produce Labour much longer than the Love of Liquor, which may be repeatedly indulged, as Wages are received. He that lays out his Money in Dress and decent Furniture, has a permanent Reward ever in Sight, to make him pleased with the past Labour, encourage his future Industry, and excite the Emulation of his Neighbour ; whilst the unhappy Man who exhausts in an Evening the Industry of a Week, annihilates the Reward of his Labour, and deadens his Vigour from the Loss of Health, and the next Day's Dissatisfaction. Excess and Luxury are transitory, and end wholly in a Man's self
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and the Gratification of a personal Humour ; whereas Cloaths and Furniture make not only the enduring Riches of a Family, but contribute much to the public Honour and Strength. The *Englishman's* Vice calls for few Hands, at most the *Ale-seller, Distiller, Farmer* and *Maltster* ; the *Frenchman's* Indulgence finds Employment to infinite Numbers, and those the most valuable and industrious Members of Society, the *Clothier, Weaver, Threadman, Sempstresses, Woolcomber, Joiner*, and the other numberless Trades depending on Dress and Household Furniture.

VII. *Temperance* in Food, the general Companion of Neatness is another national Virtue of the *French*. We observe it there in all Degrees and Ranks of Men, from the highest to the lowest. To live as we are brought up is no Punishment, and they can no more descend to a Change than we : A cheap and moderate Diet, which we should call hard Fare, is what they prefer : Yet with this frugal living, there is more Work and better performed in a Day by the same Number of Hands there, than in *England* : This is notorious in the Paper Manufacture in *Picardy*, where they fare hardest. We ourselves must acknowledge they work as well in the *North* of *England* as in the *West* or *South*, though their Diet is far more coarse and sparing. A *Scotchman* with
Oatmeal

* Oatmeal and Water will be full as strong, and travel as many Miles in a Day as an *Englishman*.

Entirely to change national Habits is perhaps impossible to any but Divine Power ; yet one would think a suitable Degree of Encouragement and Honour might give the Ambition of the Vulgar a better Turn, and excite them to excel each other in Cloaths and Household Ornaments. The proper Effect of Wealth ought to be Refinement ; higher Degrees of Humanity and Virtue, with more agreeable Manners. Vices themselves are civilized and refined away by Politeness, the Attendant of Opulence. The Vices of the lower Orders are not far fetched, nor all national. Every Man copies from the next above him in Circumstances, and so up to the Originals ; not an Extravagance of the *Country* but is derived from *Town*.

There are a Set of Laws not made for Gentlemen, though it is their Example that makes them necessary. Tippling in an Ale-house may be punished, but not drinking in a Tavern ; Bawdy-houses may be searched, but not Bagnio's ; and so in every other Instance the Laws themselves vindicate our Tyranny over the Poor, by prescribing them stricter Rules of Morality ; the Magistrates have at all Times so understood them, some for want of Sense, and some for want of Power to let the World know they are capable

capable of another Interpretation. Indeed it requires not an equal Degree of Sense to understand them in that other Manner, as of Power to execute them. No common Power, nor less than that of the Author of *Amelia* can do this: This Gentleman will be always in the right, and be sure of a Majority on his Side against polite Numbers and pernicious Fashion. To follow the Example of so fine a Gentleman as *Harry V.* would be low in the present Age, but we have a Magistrate with a better Title to Complaisance and Submission. Public Praise gives a Power greater than Kings confer in their Commissions; and this admired Writer has now the sole Means of Authority over Gentlemen, which perhaps no other Magistrate in the World ever had; for he is the first who ever joined Propriety in active Life as a civil Officer, with acknowledged Superiority as a Man of Genius. It is something unaccountable that the Vices for which I think my Servant useless, should not disgrace me, or much hurt my Character in the Judgment of many sensible Men, and of all Women without Exception: Perhaps, as Mr. *Hume* tells us, the Opinion of the Age, &c. or Agreeableness is the Test of Morality; if it be, these are really *almost* not Vices: But how long may we expect that State to subsist, where there is almost a Majority against its Interest?

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That

That neither our Number of PEOPLE, or of WORKMEN, our TRADE or RICHES are decreased of late Years.

THE Rise of Wages within these last thirty Years has been by many imputed to a Decrease of our working Hands; yet I never heard it asserted, that all Trades wanted Hands, though it is undeniable that Wages have risen proportionally in all. This refers us to some more general Cause, which can be only one of those formerly mentioned.

It is a known Maxim in Manufactures, that in the Infancy of a Trade, whilst few Hands are employed, a few will be thought too many, and when many come to be wanted, many will seem too few. One would wish rather to impute the seeming Scarcity of Hands to this Cause; for which indeed there seems to be better Reason.

The Advance of Provisions all over the Nation is a Demonstration both of the Increase of our Numbers and capital Stocks; the Increase of Wages discovers that these Numbers have full Employ; and if Wages are most risen in those Branches wherein we are said to be undersold, this is a Proof that our Trade is most increased there. General

neral Calculations confirm these Suppositions, most of them agreeing that the Nation is grown more populous by above a Million within the last fifty Years.

To keep a strict Eye over our Numbers is a Caution of the highest Policy, that timely Remedies and Counsels may be applied in our Progress or Decay. It would be easier to review the whole Nation to an Exactness annually, than the single City of *London*, by a very obvious Method; for if every Parish was directed to send the yearly Amount of their Births and Burials to the Receiver along with any one Payment of the Land-Tax, and these were transmitted to the Lords of Trade, a few Hours Trouble would serve to give us an yearly State of our Numbers sufficiently near the Truth. In this I can see no more Presumption than in what we have so long practised for the City of *London*.

If we take a View of those Towns where the *Silk* and *Cotton* Trades have settled themselves, we shall find there ten Master Manufacturers for one in the Space of a few Years, and five times the Number of Workmen. These Towns owe their Greatness, as well as the Nation the Trades here mentioned, to the public Spirit of two or three Men in each, who deserve the utmost Gratitude from their native Place as well as from their Country, though they seldom are taken the

least Notice of, or their Merit acknowledged by either. As private Men grow rich sometimes by the public Lots, so in this Case the Multitude of hasty Rivals and new Masters often ruin private Men to the public Profit. Trade like Manure serves but to corrupt the Ground, and raise an hurtful Exuberance of Vegetation, whilst it remains in an Heap: It is by spreading it that we enrich the Soil. A Trade in a single Hand seems but sufficient to support one or two, but as it breaks and divides, we see it grow enough to feed Thousands. This spreading of Trade and multiplying of Masters has so astonishingly enlarged these Cities of late Years, and increased the Numbers of Workmen.

A further Argument that these Trades (which are considerable Branches of our foreign Commerce) have had a prodigious Growth, is the continual and great Increase of the Quantities of raw Silk and Cotton yearly imported to supply the Workmen, and yet more is called for.

As here are no compulsory Laws to confine Artists within their own Parish, or prevent their removing any where within the Kingdom, or even to *Ireland*, and the *Colonies* at their Pleasure, we are to expect, that Trades will shift their Stations. Each Town regards itself as a foreign State, in competition with all the rest of the same Trade throughout the Nation. Hence they entice
away

away Workmen, rival, supplant, and underfell one another like Enemies, and by this Contention of Parts the whole subsists. The Quantity of Labour wrought in the whole Nation makes its Wealth; whilst this increases, our Trade increases as well as our manufacturing Hands. Exports, and Shipping. Whether the Ballance of Trade in our Favour rises or not, is not very material, so that it be not against us; for it is the Largeness of the Sums brought to Ballance, not their Difference which makes a great Trade.

There is sufficient Reason to believe the *Woollen* Manufacture as well as the Silk and Cotton greatly increased of late Years, however it may have changed its Residence. Inclosures being grown almost general, the Farmers propagate a larger Breed of Sheep, one Fleece of whose Wool is equal to three or four of the former small Kind. Notwithstanding this Increase of Wool, and that we have had no Distemper amongst the Sheep for eight or nine Years, and that the Quantity of Packs imported from *Ireland, Scotland, Spain, and Barbary* every Year, increases, yet we see the Wool is all wrought up, and the Price rather advances, and more is daily wanted than can be procured. Thus as we have seen, all our *Staple* Trades are greatly extended and advanced; we have also invented or imported a Variety of new ones, particularly in the Toy-Manufacture, to which alone

alone *Birmingham* owes its vast Increase of late Years.

The Richness of our Apparel and Household Furniture, the Increase of our publick and private Buildings for Use and Diversion, the lowering of Interest and daily Advance of Lands, our growing Luxury in Plate and Jewels, all concur to prove our Vitals strong and our Wealth increasing; nor is there in any Part of *England* a Fall of Rents, Lands, Houses, Commodities, or Wages: So that we may rest assured one Part of the Kingdom does not grow rich at the Expence of the rest.

Of the QUALITIES which give a Right to SOCIETY.

HOWever particular States may think proper to confine their Favours, no private Laws can destroy a general Right of Nature; Man has a natural Right in all human Society, till he himself has forfeited it by some open Act or avowed Principles, incompatible with social Peace and Security. To be born on a certain Spot is an irrational Distinction, a Privilege as insignificant as it is accidental. An Education in consequence of our Birth, may, I own, give some Security of our social Principles; but certainly Reason may be supposed to convince as strongly as Education can incline. Reason and common
Sense

Sense may instil a Love of one Form of Government rather than another, a Zeal in Defence of one Religion and one Set of Laws in Preference to all others, which Dispositions are not always drawn in with the first Air we breathe. These Qualities are more essential to the Safety of Societies than Birth or local Merits.

Commercial States which would *increase* as well as be secure, call for further Qualities still, in the next Degree as essential as a Conformity in political Principles, and infinitely more considerable than Birth alone. Industry, Ingenuity, Sobriety of Life, good Oeconomy, and a peaceable Demeanour should give every Man the Rank of a Native in a trading State, where such Qualities alone denominate a good Countryman.

OF RELIGIOUS and CIVIL POWER, and LIBERTY.

CIVIL Societies are properly concerned only in our social Principles; religious ones in their Purity are private, and affect not the State but to strengthen the Obligations to Morality. The chief Distinction of civil and religious Power consists in this: One commands or forbids certain outward Actions, in a compulsory Way, with Threats of immediate Punishment.; the other recommends

mends in the Way of Persuasion certain inward Affections and Thoughts of Mind with Assurances of future Reward or Punishment. These Affections of Mind must be such as will produce Actions beneficial to Society, and restrain the contrary. A further Distinction is this; the civil Power founds its Laws, on the general Reason of Mankind; Religion applies to each Man's particular Reason, for it can have no Force but where there is the Conviction and Assent of the Individual.

—————*Volentes*

Per populos dat Jura

Civil Liberty is the Power to do what we ought by the general Law of Reason, and the not being forced to do what we ought not. Religious Liberty is the Power to believe and worship, as our private Reason inclines us to think we ought. Every Member of Society has a Right to both these, except it is suspected that the Laws of his private Reason, either in religious or political Matter require Affections of Mind, or Actions ruinous to that Form of Society or Religion.

A *Mahometan* thinks it meritorious to destroy a *Christian*, a *Jew* has a national Aversion to *Christianity*, a *Catholic* has sworn an inveterate Enmity to *Protestants*. These are therefore very dangerous Inmates in a Society
of

of *Christian Protestants*. An *Atheist* has no inward *Belief* or Persuasion, a *Deist* laughs at all *Forms*, an *Heathen* despises the Simplicity of the *Christian Faith*. All these are unsafe where there is any sincere Regard for a *national Religion*, since by Degrees, their very *Indifference* must weaken it. A *Spaniard* loves *absolute Monarchy*, a *Chinese* the *despotic Form*, a *Dutchman* the *Republican*: A great Number of whom would not be desirable in a *limited Monarchy*.

Mr. *Locke* is of Opinion, that all who can give the Security of an Oath, not to disturb the Form of Government or Religion, may be safely admitted into any Society; he excludes only the *Catholic* and *Atheist*; the former because he can give no Oath that will be binding, except in a *Catholic Society*; the latter because he can give no Oath at all. The Practice of States is different; has any Society ever admitted all the disagreeing Parties and Principles abovementioned in any great Numbers, on the bare Security of an Oath? Or would it indeed be safe or advisable, considering how frequently Oaths are violated at every Call of Ambition, Interest, Religion or Power, especially in *Christian Countries*.

Of the POLICY of ENGLAND.

OUR Laws of *Toleration* allow a full *religious* and *civil* Liberty; no Foreigner ever felt the Weight of Tyranny here, or the Terror of *ecclesiastical* Power. Our Policy has ever been in all Points rational, if not too good-natured. *Foreigners* of all Nations and Religions, *Jews*, *Turks* or *Heathens*; *Natives* of *England* of all Sects and Beliefs or of none, *Atheists*, *Deists* and *Sceptists*; Men of every Variety of *political* Principles are all equally admitted to our Society; we even suspect no Violation of our Security from our *sworn Enemies*, if they are Poor, as if Poverty was any Security against bad Principles, or the Instruments of all sudden Revolutions were not always the Poor: Nay a *Catholic* ever so rich in *Money* may trade and enjoy his Fortune in as great Security here as in *France*. Our very Favours, our Honours and Employments are open to all, for such is the Latitude of the Oath, (if not to mention how low the Security of an Oath ever so strict would be in *England*) that a *Deist*, an *Heathen*, an *Atheist*, every Sect of *Protestants* may repeat it and hold an Office ever so important, equally with the warmest Friend to our Government and established Religion. A
Distinction

Distinction meerly *human* in a *Christian* Ceremony, being annexed to the Oath, renders it obnoxious to the *Catholic*, and long may it continue so: But it may be feared, that they who are taught to trifle with an Oath of *general* Obligation may in Time be allowed a *temporary* Dispensation for the *Test*. However the *Test*, should it retain its Power in these loose Days, secures us only from the Admission of Papists into *Offices*: A Point full as important as the Debate upon the Test Act, was passed without Notice in the Bill for *naturalizing* all Natives of the *Plantations*; for by this, every *Catholic* of *Ireland*, whenever he pleases to come over, receives all the Birth-rights of an *Englishman* without any Exception, and from thence it is that such Numbers annually transport themselves hither, and crowd up to the *Metropolis*. One would hope the Numbers are much exaggerated in many of the printed Accounts. For two or three Authors of Credit have assured us they amount to *two hundred Thousand* in and about *London*, and are chiefly Men; and according to Dr. *Short*'s laborious Calculations, the whole Number of Inhabitants there, including Men, Women and Children, are only *six hundred and Ninty-nine Thousand*: So that the *Catholics* are more than half the *male* Inhabitants; and if any Guess can be made from the Number of *Executions* they are certainly much more than

half the bad ones. Their Increase might easily be prevented, if all Workmen who come over from *Ireland* were obliged for the future to take the *Test* before the Custom-House-Officer, or the next Magistrate at their Landing. Perhaps it is for the Interest of the *protestant* Party of *Ireland*, that as many *Catholics* as may be should be drawn off, till there remains a full and strong Majority on the *Protestant* Side there, and this could be no Detriment to *England*, nor administer the least Ground of Fear, if they kept at a Distance from the Capital, for a Majority of *Catholics* in *London*, is certainly more to be regarded than in *Ireland*.

As Things now stand, the Increase of our avowed Enemies gives some Room to foresee a forcible Overthrow of our Religion and Policy, as the Increase of *Deists* and of Sects *indifferent* at least, if not *Enemies* to the established Church, and of Consequence to the Form of Government, must draw on a general Weakning and gradual Declension of both, if they are not in their own Nature immutable and eternal.

Of some INCONVENIENCES which
a General Naturalization Act
would remove.

NOTwithstanding that by the preceding Account, our Laws of admitting Foreigners of different and disagreeing Principles in Politics and Religion are already too easy, and much more so than those of any *Christian* Monarchy upon Earth, yet there are some Inconsistencies in the Statutes concerning *Aliens*, which bear as hard on our Friends as our Enemies ; indeed they rather affect those most severely whom we ought to admit on the easiest Terms.

I shall not mention the double Duties on Merchant-Strangers, the Laws against their exporting Money, trading in the Colonies, or selling Wares by Retail, because these and many more severe and partial Statutes, are the Remains only of that inhospitable Temper, a Characteristic of our Nation ever since *Horace*, who stiles us *Brittanos hospitibus feros* ; a Character *almost* worn out by politer Manners. Besides, most of these Laws are forgot, repealed, or left unexecuted thro' the Humanity of Common Sense alone, or the opener Genius of Commerce.

I. A Foreigner unnaturalized, whether *Protestant* or *Papist*, is incapable of receiving Lands or Effects by *Demise*; the immediate and common Consequence of which Law is, that the Person who intends to dispose of his Fortune to an *Alien*, converts it into Money, and this the *Alien* receives and returns it to his own Country; whereas if he might have received it in Effects or Lands he would have staid and traded here, or spent it, or vested it in our Lands or Funds, if he could have done either on equal Terms with the *Natives*. This must be a bad Law because it gives an Advantage to moveable Goods above Lands. It may be bad Policy to lay Difficulties in the Way of removing a Fortune, but it is certainly worse to make it not only preferable but necessary to carry away our Substance. *Demises* are seldom altered on this Score, the Effects intended to be demised are turned into Money in the *Donor's* Life-time, and never fall to the Heir at *Law*, or the *Crown*. It may be equal to the State in whose Hands its Lands and Effects remain (since double Taxes and the Test secure us from *Papist* Freeholders) if they are such as own the same Principles with the best of the *Natives*, and are *English* Subjects in all Respects but Birth. The Tedioufness of our Forms, and the Ignorance of our Customs are sufficient to deter a Stranger from attempting a *private Naturalization*. None
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can judge of these, except he will for the Time suppose himself in a foreign Country, amongst entire Strangers. This is sufficient to prevent the Rich, who generally prefer their Ease to all other Considerations : But the *Expence* is a serious Article with those of *moderate* Fortune, who are by far the greater Number, and are annually obliged to send away their Wealth and Effects on this very Account.

II. Corporation-Laws are trifling Restraints in Appearance, yet trifling Restraints retard the Growth of Cities : And that so effectually and certainly, that there is not a single City in *England* at this Day on the Increase; whilst most of our free Towns, tho' with manifest local Disadvantages get all the Trade from them, and daily advance in Wealth and Numbers. One would think this might open our Eyes and lead us to remove every Restraint however trifling on the Growth and Increase of the Nation.

III. A foreign Artist or Workman, through Sickness or Accident, may be brought to sudden Distress, before he has, by a legal Service, or other Means, acquired a legal Settlement : If his Master should prove so inhuman as to deny him Assistance, the Parish by no Law can be obliged to provide for him, and he may perish for want of Support : This is a Case barely possible,

sible, but that it is possible, is Discouragement enough to Strangers : A very slight Alteration in our Poor's Laws may make it never possible. The Intention of the harshest of our Laws is not that any of the Poor should starve, but that the Expence of relieving them should fall on those who have had the Benefit of their Labour. Those of our Towns which have Openness of Heart enough to admit Foreigners, seldom are deficient in Generosity to their Distress; yet the Laws of all States should provide for the Duties of Humanity, that Men may feel an Obligation to them, without questioning their own Goodness of Heart. In this Alteration *Catholics* perhaps may be excepted ; for Protestant Workmen are at least as good as them; and there ought to be as many Discouragements, one would think, in the way of poor Catholics as rich ones.

IV. Our Laws relating to Strangers seem to take care only for *Merchant-Strangers*. An Alien Merchant may sue on a Bond, or bring his personal Action for a Note, or other Debt, arising in any *mercantile* Transaction, but it is not quite clear whether any *other* Foreigner unnaturalized would be allowed to do this; and still less, whether a foreign Workman being obliged, through the Injustice of his Master, to sue for his Wages, or forced by any other Oppression to bring his

his Action, could be relieved, as the Law now stands.

Some of the good Consequences of admitting FOREIGN PROTESTANTS on easier Terms.

THOUGH according to our sanguine Expectations a *Naturalization* Act would not have been attended with every kind of Advantage to the Nation, nor brought hither at once infinite Numbers of Workmen, so as to cause a Reduction of Wages in any Degree, much less to bring them below the Standard of *France*, yet the Proposal had at Bottom a Force to support it, and went upon sound Policy.

I. One of the first good Effects of such a Bill is the redressing the Inconveniencies mentioned in the last Essay, which would both cause a large yearly saving to the Nation and invite over Strangers of Substance to settle here, at least induce such as had gained their Fortune in *England*, to spend it there: besides this it would remove the Hardships under which foreign *Protestant Workmen* may suffer.

II. Populousness from Strangers is both an Indication of the Increase of any Town or Country, and an Earnest of still greater advances. New Comers leaving their Country either by Choice or Accident, bring with them

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not only their Wealth, and moveable Goods; but (what is of more Consequence) the Knowledge of whatever is wanting or abounding in their own Country. Through this Intercourse, new Branches of Trade are found out, and new Markets discovered for our Native Commodities and Manufactures.

III. Every new Hand adds a Value by its Labour to something or other less valuable before, each new Comer increases the Home Market and raises the Worth of our Grain, Manufactures and Lands; the least Addition to our Numbers does this, and the Act in Question would have yearly added some, and laid the Way open for a daily Supply, the Stream, though small and silent, would have been perpetual. It is the Nature of Mankind to set a Value on Things in proportion as their Hopes and Fears have been raised about them. We may find it some Advantage to let the World know, we think it a Privilege worth contesting to have the Name of *Englishman*: If that be all the foreign Artist would have gained; but perhaps he may think that not to have obtained what has been asked for him is to take something from him.

IV. Foreigners either find or fancy Difficulties in settling here sufficient to make them content to suffer real ones at home, especially such as are rich and indolent. *Holland*

land is in all Parts the freest Country in the World; but *Amsterdam* being at liberty, from some small Restraints which the other Towns are bigotted to, owes to this its amazing Increase beyond the rest of the Towns in *Holland*.

V. The Young, Active, and Industrious, are the Wealth of a Nation; and such alone we shall receive, for they only leave their Country to improve themselves and their Art. We need be under no fear of the Infirm, Lazy, Impotent, Old, or Poor. No Temptations can be strong enough to make them quit their Relations, old Acquaintance, and Family Connexions, to starve in a strange Country, for here every Man must work, or expect speedy Poverty; and no Person in his Senses will rely on Charity amongst utter Strangers. The Man of Leisure, Learning and Fortune would also be glad to embrace a Retirement here, and enjoy his own Opinions in Peace, which he could not do at home.

VI. We have scarce taken a right Step in commercial Policy, but as the *Dutch* have first set us the Example: They have been of old our Rivals and Instructors, our best Friends and worst Enemies. Men of all Climates and Religions are Natives of *Holland*, their Earth is as free as their Air. Their Toleration of Religions is so extreme, it amounts to a total Unconcern about them. At the same Communion, in the same

Church, some receive fitting, others standing or kneeling, and this Freedom appeared to that crafty People such unquestionable Policy, that it came in from Common Sense alone, and gained without a Law.

*Chac'un y croit ce qu'il lui plait,
Et peut paroître tel qu'il est
Sans craindre en s'expliquant la Censure publique
Et l'exacte Soumission,
Au Gouvernement Politique,
Est la seule Religion
Dont on Exige la pratique.*

Pensées d' Ofsenstr. V. 1. p. 110.

If our narrow Views and hasty Conclusions had prevailed there, nothing could seem more plausible than that *Holland*, of all Places, should dread being overburthened with People : A Country where the Land fit for Tillage, exceeds not 400,000 Acres, a Tract scarce larger than one of our middling Counties, not near sufficient though it were all in Wheat to afford a Pound of Bread a Day to all its Inhabitants, in the best Years ; nor (including them employed in draining) enough to feed compleatly the very Husbandmen who till it. A Country without Mines or Minerals, won from the Sea, and defended daily from it at a Charge, that lays a Burthen on every Acre, equal almost to our Land-Tax.

Tax. Its People already two Millions; their Fuel, Turf, a Stock continually wasting in itself, and destroying their Ground in digging; their very fresh Water in some Places so little, that they were obliged for a Supply to distant Parts: This politic People at a Time when their Land afforded not Food, Drink, Firing or Cloaths for a Third of its own Inhabitants, eagerly invited and gladly received those of all the rest of the World, and these not the Rich, and such as could live at their Ease, but the very Fugitives and Outcasts of all other Countries. In this more particularly their Wisdom appeared. *Holland* is not a Country for the Idle; They stand in need only of such as can assist them in overcoming the natural Disadvantages of their Place and Country, not such as must live at their Ease on the Labour of others: If their Land was poor, Labour must make it rich; if their Territory was small, Numbers must make it strong; Liberties and Civil Privileges are to be defended by Bodies of Men, not Numbers of Acres; Numbers of Inhabitants make the most barren Spot of Earth valuable; one Acre in a populous Country is worth a Thousand in a Desert, and a *Dutch Morgen* in the sandiest Part of the Provinces is more valuable than an hundred Acres in the fruitfulest Valley of the Isle of *Tinian*.

VII. In *France* and *Spain* Catholics of all Countries are naturalized. In the former even

even foreign Protestants are admitted to all the Rights of Natives, after working for a certain Term in the Manufactory of the *Gobelins*. The same Policy is lately adopted by the *Spaniards*. Let not *England* depart so far from its native Character of Generosity and Good-nature, as to deny that Indulgence to the persecuted Protestants, which *France* and *Spain* afford to the unpersecuted Papists. This Humanity requires, as well as Interest, for Protestants under Persecution like all oppressed Sectaries, are ever the most industrious Members of a Community.

VIII. A small Number of Hands arriving from a cheaper Country, are often found sufficient to break Combinations of Workmen, in their Trade, and to keep Wages down at the common Standard, for a Time. Thus the Labourers, who yearly come over from *Ireland* in the Harvest-time, prevent any Exorbitancy in the Price of that Branch of Labour for a Season, though they affect not the general and gradual Rise of Wages in all Trades. Indeed without such help (so great is the Quantity now of Tillage-Land in the Kingdom) it would scarcely be possible to find Labourers for the Harvest, or in any Manner to get it in.

The Numbers to be expected or feared on a general Naturalization cannot be great, Religion has lost much of its Force in the neighbouring

bouring Countries, within the last Century. A Persecution in these days makes more Converts than Refugees. Trade and Commerce soften the Minds of Men, and enlarge their Understanding. The Pursuit of Gain leaves the Mind at large in all other things. On the Repeal of the *Edict* of *Nantz*, about the Middle of the last Century, we are told near fifty thousand came over from *France*, in the Space of ten Years, the Number is thought to be exaggerated, nor were they all *Protestant Foreigners*. Many *Papists* in the general Hopes of a speedy Change of our Religion came over in the Swarm, and all indifferently were made *Denizens*. An Act of the Crown can repeat the same Effect, and will not be wanting on a like Occasion of adding to our Numbers, though it was the Act of a Reign in no other Respect a desirable Pattern for Imitation.

F I N I S.

Learning Commerce, within the last Century.
A Persecution in these days makes more Con-
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the Mind as large in all other things. On
the Record of the Duke of Argyll about the
Middle of the last Century, we are told that
any thousand came over from Rome, in the
space of ten Years, the Number is thought to
be augmented, not were they all Protestants
formerly, many Papists in the general
flux of a Party Change of our Religion
came over in the Swarm, and all indifferently
were made Dissenters. Acts of the Crown
can repeat the same, and will not be
wanting on a full Addition to our
Numbers, though Acts of a Reign
in no other Respect a desirable Pattern for
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